

Labor Parties of Latin America

By
ROBERT ALEXANDER

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Labor Parties of Latin America

By
ROBERT ALEXANDER



LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 EAST 19TH STREET
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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

THE LABOR AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS of South America are colorful and distinctive. The fact that powerful trade union and political labor movements should exist in the countries in the southern part of our hemisphere, which are largely agricultural in their nature, is somewhat of a paradox. In those countries in which industry of some magnitude exists, such industry has, until quite recently, been largely under foreign influence and control. Yet there have developed in these backward and largely rural nations economic and political labor movements of considerable proportions. A few of the reasons for the progress of the labor movement, particularly on the economic field, may be suggested.

In the first place, it must be noted that the labor movements have been confined to a limited number of industries. Transportation—both railroad and maritime—has been a favorite and fruitful field for labor organization in Latin America. Mining is another area of trade union strength. In such extracting industries as coal, iron and petroleum, there have been frequent outbursts of union activity and organization, which, in several areas, have resulted in powerful and relatively long-lived union organization. In some cases where plantation methods of agriculture have predominated, there has been considerable, if meteoric, organization among rural workers.

However, at least until recently, unions have had little success in organizing the workers on the semi-feudal estates which dominate the agricultural picture of much of Latin America.

In recent years, a further field for the spread of trade union activity has opened up with the establishment of branch factories and assembly plants by American, British and sometimes native capitalists in various South American nations.

Finally, it should be conceded that labor organizations are strongest and have the most continuous history in exactly those countries which are most industrialized. Thus it is in Argentina and Chile that one finds the strongest labor movements. Brazil, with its totalitarian form of government, stands as an important exception to this statement.

A second important factor in the development of the labor movement in Latin America has been the fact that the movement in

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*] these countries has been nationalistic in tone. The unions and the labor political parties have been associated with and have led those elements within the Latin American nations which have attacked "imperialism." They have been the most vocal opponents of the policy of "dollar diplomacy" and of attempts by the United States and other nations to control economically and politically the Latin countries. In attempting to obtain higher wages and better working conditions from alien-owned firms, the unions have often expressed the whole nation's dislike for the foreigner. This element of nationalism has been a very important element in the strength and development of the labor organizations, at least until the advent of the Good Neighbor Policy. It is at least a partial explanation for the very advanced social welfare and labor legislation of Latin America in the midst of the crudest and most backward of actual labor conditions.

Another political factor which has aided the growth of the labor movements of Latin America has been the fact that it has been fostered by politicians. Such leaders as Alessandri in Chile have seen in the labor movement a good instrument to forward their own ambitions, and have thus aided it.

A certain parallel can be drawn, too, between the Socialist parties of South America and those of Europe, in spite of the vast differences in their locale. In both Europe and South America, the socialist movement has been a movement of democracy, and a revolt against feudalism and the crasser forms of capitalism. Socialist parties developed as evangelists of political and social democracy as much as they did as preachers of Marxism or any other economic doctrine. Thus in Peru a strong socialist group exists whose main struggle is the achievement of some degree of democracy and self-expression for the Indian masses who are still in a condition of semi-serfdom. Thus, also, the great growth of the socialist movement in Chile came after 1920, when democracy began really to get a foothold in that country.

On the other hand, the Socialist party of Argentina has been largely the political spokesman for a strong trade union movement, while in Uruguay, which has had a strongly democratic and socially progressive government for thirty years, the socialist organization as such is of little importance.

Finally, after all else has been said, the fact must not be over-

looked that, in many instances, the labor movements of South America have been what might be called "ersatz" products. Especially has this been true where the anarcho-syndicalists and communists have been concerned. In the pre-1914 days, Spanish and Italian anarcho-syndicalists swarmed over the South American landscape, establishing little union federations in the image of the great anarcho-syndicalist organizations of southern Europe. And in the inter-war period, the Communist International went forth to create unions where union had never been before, and, perhaps, where there was no basis or excuse for their existence. But these organizations are all a part of the history of labor and socialism in South America, and often a rather fiery and spectacular part.]*

Many of the violent and meteoric aspects of Latin American unionism are due partly to the predominant position held by the anarchist, socialist and communist groups in the labor movements, as well as to the general unstable condition of South American political life. It is primarily to the fortunes of these and similar movements on the political field which have as their stated aim the improvement of the condition of the working class that this pamphlet is directed. Let us now turn to the history of these working class political movements in the principal countries of South America—Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay and Ecuador. We will first deal with Chile, whose Popular Front government, composed of various leftist elements, has been much in the news.

Labor Parties of Latin America

By ROBERT ALEXANDER

I. CHILE

Chile, like Argentina, was markedly influenced by the collapse of the revolutions of 1848. Politically articulate refugees went to Chile at that time from France and Germany, including, among others, Francisco Bilbao.

Bilbao was a native Chilean. A restive spirit, he early became a freethinker and in 1844 was convicted of blasphemy, following the publication of one of his books. Following his conviction, he quit his native land and went to Europe, where he came in contact with the utopian socialists who were playing such an important part in the affairs of the day. Becoming involved in the revolutions of 1848, Bilbao finally sought refuge in his own country after the collapse of these revolts.

In 1850 he founded the Sociedad de la Igualdad. This organization attempted to educate and organize the working class. It was composed of workers and artisans who met secretly to discuss such things as the citizen's rights and duties under a constitutional form of government, a labor bank, industrial schools and reform of the usury laws. In October, 1850 the Sociedad held a public meeting in Santiago which was attended by four thousand people. The Sociedad was crushed the following year when it took part in an armed uprising against President Manuel Montt.

During the quarter of a century which followed the collapse of the Sociedad de la Igualdad, its former members continued their agitation and propaganda. Many of them functioned as the left wing of the Liberal party; others joined the Radical party where they succeeded in attracting considerable following. One of the main activities of these early socialists was in sponsoring and aiding workers' mutual aid societies. By 1870 there were thirteen mutual aid societies incorporated in Chile; by 1880 this number had risen to thirty-nine; by 1890 to seventy-six and by 1900 the number had

reached 240. These men also launched other workers' organizations, such as workers' musical societies and workers' schools. Meanwhile they were active politically. Several journals were edited by the socialistically minded groups in Chile.

Birth of Democratic Party

All of these groups were brought together into one organization in 1887 with the founding of the Democratic party. This was the first avowedly socialistic political party in Latin America, and was composed of active workers in the mutual aid societies, of liberal lawyers and professional men, and of left wing elements in the liberal and radical parties.

Perhaps its most picturesque character was Juan Rafael Allende. He is often referred to as the Voltaire of Chile, and was famous for his caustic humor and his biting anti-clericalism. He was an impetuous speaker, and upon at least one occasion his speeches resulted in riots throughout the capital city of Santiago. But the party's guide spirit was Malaquias Concha, a conscientious young lawyer who became famous as an attorney for the poor and unfortunate. Concha was the party's theoretical leader, and it was he who drew up a party program which compares favorably with similar socialist platforms in the Europe of his day, although it was adapted to Chilean conditions.

The new party held its first convention on July 14, 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, when it adopted a program and organizational structure similar to those of contemporary European Socialist parties.

Even before it was officially launched at its first convention the new party had its baptism of fire. It led a movement in Santiago against the traction system's attempt to raise rates. Several meetings protesting this rise were held under the party's auspices. One of these broke up in a riot and, as a result, fifteen members of the Directing Committee went to jail for varying periods of time.

The new party fared badly during the revolution of 1891. It split. In the course of the revolution the party itself was dissolved by the government. However, the work of reconstruction was begun soon after the triumph of the Congressional faction in the war.

The Democratic party had its first electoral success in 1894 when it placed Angel Guarello, a Valparaiso lawyer, in the Chamber of Deputies. In 1897 Artemio Gutierrez was elected to the Chamber and Guarello was re-elected. At the same time five democrats were elected to the municipal council of Valparaiso, giving the party control of the city government. In 1900 a split in the Valparaiso section of the party led to the defeat of Guarello and all of the councilmen, but Malaquias Concha was elected a Deputy from Concepcion. The next year Dr. Francisco Landa was elected in a special poll in Santiago, and by 1903 the democratic bloc in the Chamber consisted of four members. In 1909 the democrats succeeded in electing seven Deputies, but two of them were not allowed to take their seats. In 1912 the party again succeeded in electing five members to the lower house.

During the first decade of this century, the outstanding organizer and official of the Democratic party was Luis Recabarren, editor of the official party organ, "La Reforma" and secretary of the Democratic party. He is revered today by the Chilean socialists in much the same way in which their comrades in the United States regard Eugene V. Debs, although Recabarren, unlike Debs, ultimately became a communist—a fact which he was supposed to have repented before he died in 1924. He did organizing work among the miners in the northern part of the country, among the industrial workers in the Central Valley, and even among agricultural workers.

Recabarren was leader of the left wing of the party, and was anxious that the organization become more closely connected with the International Socialist Movement. There had been a tendency for the party to drift to the right and not to maintain too close relations with other socialist groups. In endeavoring to bring his organization in more close contact with foreign socialists, Recabarren sent regular reports on the Democratic party's activities to the International Socialist Bureau, and often expressed the hope that the party would affiliate with the Bureau. However, this did not occur and the party continued to move to the right. The organization became less and less of a Socialist party, a development which was aided by the corruption in the Chilean politics of that day, and the constant contacts of the democratic leadership with the representatives of the "plutocracy."

Socialist Labor Party Emerges

These developments culminated in 1912 in the secession of the more militant elements from the Democratic party to form the Socialist Labor party. The groups which split were concentrated mainly in the northern nitrate provinces, though some groups split in Santiago and elsewhere. Recabarren became secretary of the new organization, and "El Despertador de los Trabajadores" became the new group's official organ. The young party had almost immediate though ephemeral success when Recabarren was elected deputy from Tarapaca, but was not seated by the Chamber. By 1913 the Socialist Labor party had several municipal councillors in the nitrate regions. It then had two journals, and in 1915 it held its first convention. That meeting established headquarters in the capital city and made "La Vanguardia" its official organ.

The labor political parties continued their development during the World War era. Most of the important figures in the Democratic party remained with that organization after the 1912 split, and the Democratic party continued to move in a conservative direction. This trend came to a climax in 1917 when Angel Guarello accepted a post in the Conservative Cabinet of President Sanfuentes. In 1918 Artemio Gutierrez was also a cabinet minister for two and a half months. Perhaps one result of this Democratic participation in the government was the policy of Tory socialism followed by the government. In 1916 the first workmen's compensation law was passed, a retirement system for railroad employees was initiated in 1919, and a compulsory education law was enacted in August, 1920. In Parliament the democrats cooperated with the government, even when there were no democrats in the cabinet.

During the war period the Socialist Labor party continued an unspectacular growth, carrying on agitation along anti-clerical and anti-militarist lines, and being active in cooperatives and trade unions. Many labor organizations supported this party.

A New Era in Chilean Politics

The election of 1920 marked a new era in the history of labor and socialism in Chile. Arturo Alessandri Palma, the first middle

class President, was then elected, by a coalition of radicals, democrats, left-wing liberals, and socialists.

Alessandri was the son of an Italian immigrant, and was well-known as a lawyer and politician. He had first gained prominence in cleaning out a local "Tammany" in the city of Iquique. He was strong-willed and fearless, had a reputation for being generous, and possessed oratorical ability second to none. However, he was also somewhat of a demagogue, being willing to promise anything to anyone in order to achieve his ends. His principles were elastic and he showed a tendency to confuse the good of the Chilean masses with the good of Arturo Alessandri. However, the workers were enthusiastically in favor of him.

He was elected upon a platform calling for separation of Church and State, votes for women, income taxes, labor legislation, and government control of the nitrate industry. The election was very close, Alessandri only being proclaimed victor after a special "court of honor" had re-canvassed the vote. Once elected, he did not have the complete support of Congress, the Senate being controlled by the Opposition. The result was a stalemate during most of the four years of Alessandri's first administration. The workers supported Alessandri against the Senate, which was controlled by the old agrarian aristocracy. In return Alessandri succeeded in putting into effect his plans for providing sick and accident benefits for workers, instituting dismissal pay, and setting up special labor courts.

While the workers supported Alessandri as against the Senatorial reactionaries, they tended more and more to back the working class parties and, more specifically, the Socialist Labor party. This party sided with the Russian bolsheviks in their attempt to build a new left-wing Internationale. Thus it took no part in the post-war conferences which resulted in the resurrection of the Second International, though it did take part in the Buenos Aires conference of American Socialist parties in 1919. In December 1919 the Chilean Socialist Labor party changed its program to conform to that of the Communist International. In January, 1922, the convention of the party ratified the changes made, and the S. L. P. joined the Third International, under the name of the Communist party. Thenceforward the party took a more or less active part in the activities of its International, sending delegates to the International Congresses. The membership seems to have remained about

2,000 during the early twenties, though its influence augmented considerably. In 1923 the Communist party had two deputies and several municipal councillors, and in 1925 it had four deputies and two senators, while by 1927 there were seven deputies and two senators.

The Army Coup d'Etat

The struggle between Alessandri and the Conservatives culminated in a coup d'etat upon the part of the army in September 1924. The army had been much perturbed by the impasse during the regime of President Alessandri, as one of the results of this impasse had been that army pay was irregular and often not forthcoming at all. In addition, many of the junior officers of the army were sympathetic to the aims of the more liberal elements in Chilean politics.

The army coup d'etat was greeted differently by the various working class groups. The I.W.W. was the only one openly to oppose the new regime. The Wobblies were accused by the supporters of the new government of trying to do all they could to disorganize the economic life of the country. The Federacion Obrera Chilena which was the most important labor federation in the country and was controlled by the communists, was at first non-committal, but drew up a list of things which it desired the new regime to do. A conflict between the F.O.Ch. Railroad Workers Union and the government over the administration of the railroads led the F.O.Ch. to become more anti-government than formerly in its pronouncements.

The political labor groups at first tended to reserve judgment on the coup. The Democrats hurried to issue a statement announcing their neutral position. However, Angel Guarello accepted a post as Minister of Industry and Public Works in the first cabinet organized by the new government. The Democratic party's executive, on the other hand, issued a statement on September 18, two weeks after the revolt, reviewing the circumstances of the coup, advising its members and sympathizers to refrain from strikes and urging "increased production as the only means of reducing the high cost of living." By the fourth of October, however, the democrats had swerved around into a position of opposition to the new

government. Their convention on that date issued a statement to that effect, and elected a special executive committee to run the party during the crisis. By November the democrats were calling for a restoration of Alessandri, and in January they issued a statement attacking the government as tyrannical and oligarchical.

The communists, too, maintained a neutral attitude at first. Their position was attributed some years later by their own executive committee to "certain opportunist deviations . . . on the part of the majority of the C. C."

Labor Legislation Enacted

The government, meanwhile, was trying to win the support of labor. One of its first acts was to promulgate a Labor Code. This law of September 8, 1924, set up standards for collective labor contracts, gave trade unions legal personality, laid down formalities for the conclusion of pacts, made trade unions responsible for carrying out contracts they signed, and gave the President of the Republic power to dissolve unions under certain circumstances. The law also provided for minimum wages for all industries, set up joint wage committees of employers and workers in various industries, prohibited night work for children under sixteen and restricted work for those between 16 and 18. Finally, it prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in public amusements and forbade any night work in bakeries, pastryshops and confectioners' establishments. Health insurance was made compulsory under the Code, and funeral benefits were provided for.

The new government sent representatives to various workers meetings in order to induce the workers to support the new regime, but did not succeed. Slowly but surely the government's acts turned the liberal elements in the country against the new regime. The Three Man Executive established by the revolution came to rely more and more on the old conservative politicians. Elements in the Junta of Young officers which had engineered the revolt began to become restless, and, finally, on January 23, 1925 there was a successful uprising of the young officers, led by Colonels Marmaduke Grove and Carlos Ibanez. This group immediately invited Alessandri to return and fill out the rest of his term as President. Meanwhile the regime launched an extensive program of

housing and education for the workers. The January revolution was supported by most workers' groups, including the Communist party, which, when it decided that it had made a mistake in welcoming back Alessandri, forced its secretary to "recognize" his error.

Alessandri Restoration

Alessandri now accomplished in a few months what previously he had been unable to do in a number of years. A new Constitution was drawn up by a group among whom were Manuel Hidalgo, communist Senator, and Oscar Schnake, an anarcho-sindicalist leader. This new document provided for the separation of Church and State, the guarantee of the right of association, and recognition of the duties of the State towards various groups in the community. In addition to the Constitution, Alessandri promulgated many decrees. Among them were those prohibiting employment of children under fourteen in commerce, regulating employment of white collar employees and limiting their hours to eight per day and forty-eight per week.

Labor, meanwhile, was trying to make the most of the Alessandri restoration. The nitrate unions began an organizing campaign early in 1925 and they expected Alessandri's aid. However, they got no protection from him when the employers started using terrorist methods to combat the organizing effort. Later, when sit-down strikes were resorted to, Alessandri sent in troops to quell the "disorders." The result was that many hundreds of people were killed in clashes between troops and strikers while the leaders of the strike were exiled, and the walkout was defeated.

Other unions were active. There were 113 strikes, more than any other year in the decade of the twenties, in which 51,198 workers participated.

When the new constitution had been adopted, Alessandri once again resigned the Presidency. In the ensuing campaign Emiliano Figueroa Larrain, who was backed by all of the old-line parties, defeated Jose Salas Romo, former Minister of Hygiene, who had the support of the workers' organizations. After this defeat the workers called a general strike, that was easily broken.

Dictatorship of Ibanez

The election of Emiliano Figueroa Larrain marked the beginning of the dictatorship of Carlos Ibanez. Although he did not yet officially become President, he was the dominating figure in the government. During this formative period of the Dictatorship, the workers were remarkably inactive. There was no campaign upon the part of the unions or the labor political parties to halt the trend towards one-man rule. This was partially due to the fact that the Communist party was divided as a result of internal dissension.

Once Ibanez was completely in power, in 1927, he took measures to see to it that no opposition should develop in the labor movement or elsewhere. He exiled most of his prominent opponents, he drove the F. O. Ch. underground, he outlawed the Communist party, and, finally, he set up trade union and labor political groups which were loyal to the dictatorship. The Congreso Social Obrero—the federation of mutual aid societies—was Ibanez's entering wedge in the labor movement. He patronized the officials of this group, and made it the "official" labor federation of the country. Most of the members of the Confederacion Republicana de Accion Civica, Ibanez's "labor party" in Parliament, were officials of the Congreso Social Obrero and its affiliates.

The Communist party, meanwhile, was badly split. Some of its principal leaders, notably Senator Manuel Hidalgo, wanted to make use of what legal means of agitation there were available under the Ibanez regime. Thus after being exiled in 1927, Hidalgo took advantage of an amnesty decree to come back and resume his Senatorial toga. For this action he was expelled from the Communist party.

The Dictatorship lasted from 1927 until the summer of 1931. Although Ibanez brooked no opposition from the labor movement, neither would he stand for any resistance upon the part of the aristocracy. He exiled conservatives as freely as communists. He dislodged the old agrarian plutocracy from political power and set about to industrialize, develop and educate the country. Usually being content to exile his opponents, he was much less ruthless than present day dictators, or his contemporary Gomez of Venezuela.

It was the great depression which caused Ibanez's downfall.

After 1930 the index of production and the security of Ibanez's position declined in almost direct proportion. After successfully quelling a rebellion led by Col. Marmaduke Grove in the fall of 1930, Ibanez was overthrown in the summer of 1931 when a student strike developed into a general demonstration against his regime.

Conservative Juan Esteban Montero succeeded Ibanez, but resigned in favor of conservative Manuel Trucco, in order to run for President in the ensuing election. It was Trucco who was faced with the task of suppressing the famous naval mutiny in September, 1931. This mutiny combined a protest by the sailors against conditions in the fleet with a general protest against the depression and the regime in power. Although the communists probably did not lead the sailors' strike, they did make use of it ashore to propagandize for an immediate overthrow of the government and the establishment of a Soviet Republic. They led great marches of the unemployed and a transportation strike which added to the difficulties. However, their leadership in this incident was apparently not satisfactory, since soon after the naval mutiny a rash of small socialist, non-communist groups appeared. The mutiny was suppressed within a week.

In the November, 1931, election Estaban Montero won, receiving 183,000 votes. Arturo Alessandri Palma received 100,000 votes; while Senator Hidalgo, now running as the candidate of a group of socialists and dissident communists, received 6,000 and the official Communist party, candidate, Elias Laferte, received two thousand.

During the six months of the Esteban Montero regime the labor movement came out from underground, though it was still persecuted by the government. The Federacion Obrera Chilena was revived, the anarcho-syndicalist groups functioned once more, the Communist party carried on a lively propaganda campaign inside and outside of congress. However, a more important group was forming. Col. Marmaduke Grove was the center of this group which had the support of the numerous little socialist factions. He had advanced ideas politically and socially and was much perturbed by the return of the aristocracy to power.

He was a Mason and a liberal in politics. He had been one of the instigators of the September, 1924, and the January, 1925, revolts, and during the early part of the Ibanez regime he had or-

ganized the Chilean airforce, and then had been Air Attache at the Chilean Embassy in London. However, he had become disgusted with the dictatorial methods of Ibanez, and had become an exile. In the fall of 1930 he had made a spectacular airplane trip from Argentina for the purpose of arousing a mutiny in the Concepcion garrison. A bit later Grove was to become an anomaly in Latin American politics—a soldier who went into political life as a civilian, and not for the purpose of bringing about military domination of national affairs. Grove laid plans to overthrow the Esteban Montero regime. In order to get enough force to succeed in this endeavor, he had to cooperate with the followers of the ex-dictator Carlos Ibanez, and specifically with Carlos Devila, former Ambassador to the United States.

Grove-Davila Revolt of 1932—The “Socialist Republic”

In early June, 1932, the Grove-Davila revolt occurred, and was successful. The new Junta immediately proclaimed a socialist republic, and organized a government with Grove as Minister of War and “strong man.” This government quickly published a program which, among other things, promised dissolution of Congress and the calling of a Constituent Assembly to write a socialist constitution, heavy taxation of large fortunes, organization of food stuffs industries by the government, government monopolies for oil, matches, tobacco, iodine and several other things, division of large estates then paying no taxes, reorganization and reduction of armed forces, socialization of credit. The government took immediate steps to return everything in the government pawn shops, to fix the prices of food, to institute unemployment relief to 250,000 unemployed. In addition a National Socialist Economic Council was set up with representatives of the unions on it, and Sr. Morgado, ardent opponent of the private nitrate monopoly, was made Commissioner of the nitrate industry. Finally, the National Bank was taken over and made a government institution, and the taking of foreign currency from the country was forbidden.

The “socialist republic” appealed to the workers for support, and labor responded. Mass meetings were held throughout the republic, and were addressed by socialists from Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. Soviets, which had been set up the first day of the revolt, were

abandoned by the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists and dissident communists, when the Communist party tried to make them a tool against the government.

Grove Regime Overthrown

The communists and democrats were opposed to the new regime. The former regarded it only as a “tool of British capital,” and denounced it. Communist students, led by Elias Laferte, seized the buildings of the National University and demanded that they be given representation in the government. The democrats, on the other hand, had sided with Esteban Montero at the time of the overthrow of the regime, and when Davila broke with Grove and the majority of the new government, the democrats cooperated with Davila against the regime. These two groups, aided by the newly formed radical socialists—a split-off from the Radical party—and certain army groups, overthrew the Grove regime on June 17th, thus ending the “socialist republic.” They set up a new government which lasted some 100 days and proceeded to undo many of the things Grove had done.

The workers were opposed to the Davila regime and on June 22 attempted to revolt against it, but were suppressed. Rigorous laws against “agitating the masses” were passed. On June 21, 1932, the Communist party was even outlawed. Grove and his main supporters were shipped off to a prison colony.

The Davila regime ended in a military coup, after the radical socialists and half the democrats had withdrawn their support. This new coup was preparatory to holding a presidential election in November. The candidates were Arturo Alessandri Palma, Marmaduke Grove, Hector Rodriguez de la Sotta, Enrique Zanartu, and Elias Laferte. Alessandri ran as a “moderate socialist,” with support of one faction of the Democrats. Grove was the candidate of a new grouping, the Social Revolutionary Alliance, composed of various groups which had backed the “socialist republic,” and was the candidate of organized labor; de la Sotta was the Conservative party nominee; Zanartu was likewise a liberal candidate, and Laferte was communist choice. They received 183,744 votes, 60,261 votes, 45,267 votes, 42,273 votes and 4,621 votes respectively.

Period of Rebuilding

The second Alessandri regime was a period of rebuilding both for Chile and for the labor and socialist movement. The rigors of the depression having been weathered, the economic situation improved considerably, and the Alessandri government launched on a program of economic nationalism—taking over such British and American owned industries as nitrates, electric power, oil, and air transport.*

The outstanding political feature of this administration was the growth of the Socialist party. This group grew from the Social Revolutionary Alliance which had backed Grove in the 1932 election. A half dozen small socialist groups which had been formed after the overthrow of Ibanez came together in a convention in the spring of 1933 and founded the Socialist party. The party grew rapidly, and by 1937 it elected fifteen deputies and four senators, as against two senators and four deputies in the previous congress. By 1940 the number had risen to seventeen deputies and four senators.

The Communist party thus lost its monopoly of labor political activity. For a time—during the latter part of the “Third Period”—it followed a “sectarian” position, and engaged in fanciful soviet-forming during 1933. It attacked all opponents as “social fascists.”

The Popular Front Emerges

In 1936 occurred a railroad general strike in Chile which caused widespread disturbance. Its main political importance lay in the fact that it gave great impetus to the movement for a Popular Front.

* This phenomenon of a conservative government taking over the nationalistic program which earlier had been one of the primary stocks in trade of the union and radical movements, was not confined to Chile. During the thirties it spread throughout Latin America. It can, perhaps, be attributed to a number of causes. For example, the world-wide atmosphere of intense nationalism undoubtedly had its effects. Also the spread of nationalism more generally throughout the population of the various nations was in part responsible, while the possibility that some of the more unscrupulous dictators saw in confiscation of foreign-owned property an easy solution to the question of a hard-pressed treasury should not be disregarded. Finally, it is possible that the growth of nazi influence, which saw in the appropriation of British and American property by Latin nations a fine means of restricting Anglo-American power, and increasing German influence, was a factor.

It should be noted that the adoption of economic nationalism—directed mainly against the British and North Americans—by conservative groups probably made it easier politically for the unions and radicals to side with the United States in the present world crisis.

Although the leftist parties—socialist, communist, democratic, radical and radical socialist—had worked together since 1934, and had succeeded in electing candidates, the entente had not been official. In line with the policy of the Communist International, the Communist party had started advocating a Popular Front in 1935. But it was not until after the 1936 railroad walkout that the actual step was taken. Included within the Popular Front, in addition to the parties already named, were the Republican Action party, and the Confederacion de Trabajadores Chilenos, the new unified federation of labor.

The reasons for the rise of this leftist bloc are many. Although Alessandri carried out the nationalistic economic policy with which the workers parties were in general agreement, and though he even passed a modicum of social legislation, he was not popular with the leftists. This fact was due in part to the fact that he came more and more to rely upon the conservatives and aristocrats for his political support. The strongest man in his cabinet was Gustavo Ross, the richest man in the nation. Another reason for Alessandri's unpopularity was his patronizing of the fascist elements. Finally, Alessandri's foreign policy—demonstrated by his support of the fascists in the Ethiopian and Spanish affairs—was particularly distasteful to the workers' parties.

The Popular Front gained a number of victories between 1936 and 1938, electing several deputies and senators. However, the big test came in 1938 with the Presidential election. After much jockeying for position inside the Popular Front—the radicals supporting one of their men for candidate, the socialists supporting Grove, and the communists being in favor of the former dictator Carlos Ibanez—it was agreed that the Radical party leader Pedro Aguirre Cerda should be the Popular Front nominee. To oppose him the conservative-liberal coalition put up Gustavo Ross, Minister of Finance in Alessandri's cabinet. Disappointed in the Popular Front, Carlos Ibanez announced his own candidacy and was supported primarily by the Chilean nazis. The communists supported Aguirre Cerda.

The race was a close one, and if it had not been for the elimination of Ibanez after an unsuccessful putsch which landed him in jail, and the consequent throwing of his followers into the Popular Front camp, Ross probably would have triumphed. The vote was

so close that Ross demanded a recount, but when this threatened to cause a civil war, the army leaders stepped in and advised Ross to withdraw his demand, which he did.

The Popular Front Government

The Popular Front government was initiated in December, 1938. Its path soon became a stormy one. A month after taking office the government had to deal with the results of a disastrous earthquake. It was then necessary to combine the government's program for social reform with the earthquake rehabilitation program. A Corporation of Reconstruction and Assistance was instituted and it set about a program of housing, emergency public works, and general rebuilding.

There has been much labor activity under the Popular Front government. By October 31, 1939 there had been 536 industrial conflicts under the regime, 348 of which had resulted in strikes. Most of these were over wage increases and the gains totalled 91,140,000 pesos. The expansion of labor union organization in Chile under the Popular Front regime is comparable to the great growth in union labor in the United States under the New Deal.

Political as well as economic troubles soon plagued the Popular Front regime. It was faced with a Congress controlled by the Opposition, so that any measure the government wanted had to be the subject of political trading. This situation resulted in at least two impeachments of cabinet ministers by Parliament. The forces of the opposition were augmented when the followers of Carlos Ibanez and the Nacistas—Chilean Nazis—switched from support of, to opposition to, the government. They are now among the most violent opponents of the regime.

More important to the future of the Popular Front government, however, have been the conflicts within the Popular Front. The first of these differences arose in the Radical party where the more conservative elements wanted to abandon the People's Front altogether. Aguirre Cerda was successful in holding this tendency in check. A second source of confusion arose in the Spring of 1940 when a split occurred in the ranks of the Socialist party. There had been considerable discontent in the ranks of the S. P. with the relative ineffectiveness of the government in approaching the major

problems facing the country. There had also been a struggle for control of the Socialist party. This resulted in the expulsion of Deputy Cesar Godoy, from the party in the spring of 1940. Five other deputies followed Senor Godoy out of the party, and formed the Partide Socialista de Trabajadores.

The most important split in the Popular Front developed in the fall of 1940. The Communist party, in pursuance of its anti-United States policy, attacked the activities of one-time anarcho-syndicalist Oscar Schnake, now socialist minister of production, who visited the United States in the summer of 1940 to negotiate a trade treaty. Upon his return to Chile, Schnake launched a counter-attack against the communists. The result was that the socialists demanded the expulsion of the communists from the Popular Front. However, the radicals were unwilling to agree to this procedure, and the communists remained. So the socialists themselves quit the People's Front. The elections of March 1941 resulted in the Popular Front gaining control of both the senate and chamber. However, the position of the Communist party was relatively strengthened. The communists increased their five deputies to sixteen, and their two senators to four. The socialists meanwhile increased from ten to fifteen deputies and from four to five senators. According to "La Vanguardia," organ of the Argentine socialists, the large communist gains are partly attributable to an election deal between the radicals and communists. The gains occurred largely in the agricultural section around the capital. The socialist increases were gained by the party without any other support.

The socialists have been particularly active in denouncing the activities of both native and foreign Nazis. The Socialist party newspaper ran a series of articles exposing the machinations of Nazi agents among the German population in Southern Chile. The Socialist party follows a more pro-United States policy than do most other parties in Chile.

The situation at the present time remains uncertain. The Socialist party now occupies a position outside the Popular Front, though its ministers still sit in the cabinet. The conflict between the socialists and communists remains bitter, though it has been somewhat assuaged as a result of the invasion of Russia.

The touchy situation in Chile—which has been compared by some to the situation in Spain previous to the Franco uprising—

has been intensified by the unfortunate death of President Aguirre Cerda. Aguirre had shown a masterly ability to compromise the differences among the divergent elements supporting his regime, in addition to at least keeping the conservative elements satisfied enough so that they would not attempt revolt. Although it is likely that the Leftists will succeed in electing a successor to Aguirre, it is possible that the controversy over a candidate will come near to snapping the tenuous reins by which the various left-wing groups are held together. Even if controversy over the presidential election does not have serious results, it is questionable whether Aguirre's successor will be as skillful as was Don Pedro in acting as balance-wheel in the Leftist government. On the other hand the large Leftist majority in Congress, and the evident support of a large majority of the people for the progressive measures of the regime, are in its favor.

II. ARGENTINA

Argentina possesses perhaps the strongest, and certainly the most stable of the Latin-American labor and socialist movements. Argentine utopian socialism started with the return from France in 1837 of Esteban Echeverria, and flourished when the collapse of European revolutions of 1848 sent socialistic refugees to Argentina.

The defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871 drove more refugees to Argentina. One of these, Emile Daumas, established a French-speaking affiliate of the First International. A Spanish-speaking section was established the same year. During the 1870's other sections of the International were organized in various cities in the Republic. But in 1879 these were captured by the followers of Bakunin and were henceforth anarchist organizations.

The first Marxian socialist group in Argentina was formed by German immigrants in 1882 and christened "Voerwarts." This group published a weekly paper, established cooperatives, and on May 1, 1890 sponsored the first Argentine May Day demonstration. This was attended by three thousand people and resulted in the formation of the first labor federation, the Federacion Obrera de la Republica Argentina, which had sections in several cities and in various trades. This group soon declined, though it remained in

existence and became one of the constituents elements in a later trade union set-up.

Meanwhile various socialist groups were forming. A French-speaking one, led by Achille Cambier, an Italian group called "Fascio dei Lavoratori," and a Spanish-speaking group gathered around the weekly "La Vanguardia," published by Juan B. Justo, existed in addition to the old German "Voerwarts" group. In 1895 all these groups met in convention, drew up a minimum program, elected an executive committee and decided to participate in the 1896 elections. They received several hundred votes in their first attempt at the polls. At a second convention in 1896 the Socialist Labor party was officially launched. This party was under the leadership of Juan B. Justo, outstanding organizer and theoretician of Argentine socialism.

Although Justo is practically unknown in this country, he is regarded as one of the world's greatest socialists by the Latin Americans. He was the guiding spirit in the organization of the socialist movement of Argentina. However, he was not merely an organizer and an orator, but was a theoretician of first rank. The Socialist party press in Argentina has published a large library of the works of Juan B. Justo, and all of the socialist groups of Latin America quote Justo as widely as they do Kautsky or Vandervelde. Even the European socialist leaders regarded Justo highly, as the report on his death in the Proceedings of the 1928 International Socialist Congress indicates.

Labor Enters Parliament

By 1903 the Socialist Labor party had 1700 members throughout the nation, and in the next year the first socialist was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. During its first ten years the party experienced one split. In 1898 a group of members broke away to form the Socialist Labor Federation, but three years later this group rejoined the Socialist Labor party which changed its name to the Socialist party. The party maintained close relations with the Second International and was represented at various international socialist congresses from 1889 until the World War.

Partially as a result of disunity, decline was the keynote of the pre-war economic labor movement. But progress was the lot of

the political labor movement as represented in the Socialist party. The upward movement started in 1912, for the few years before that date were lean ones for the party. In 1908 the socialists had failed to re-elect Alfredo Palacios who had first been elected to Congress in 1904, a failure which resulted in a falling off of the organization's influence and membership. Thus, the party had 19 locals in the capital and twenty-four in the provinces, in 1908, but in 1911 it had only fifteen in Buenos Aires and twenty outside. The party's fortunes improved in 1912. Not only did the total number of locals rise from thirty-five to sixty, and the membership from 11,016 to 18,418, but the party succeeded in electing two Deputies. Palacios was returned and Juan B. Justo was also elected. In 1913 the Socialist party elected three more members of Parliament—two deputies and Enrique del Valle Iberlucea to the Senate. Finally, in 1914 the socialists elected five additional members to the Chamber of Deputies and several members of provincial legislatures.

Both the union and political sections of the labor movement suffered in the wave of terrorism which struck Buenos Aires in 1910. In 1909 the Chief of Police of Buenos Aires had been assassinated and at that time labor union headquarters were attacked by mobs and the offices of "La Protesta," an anarchist paper, were demolished. In May, 1910 these activities were renewed, when the syndicalist union federation, C. O. R. A. called a general strike. "La Protesta" was again sacked, as were the offices of "La Vanguardia," the socialist daily. The headquarters of the Socialist party were attacked, but a fight ensued and twenty-four hours elapsed before the socialist building was finally taken by the mob and police who were aiding the rioters. The vandals were not content with merely attacking union and radical headquarters, however, but sacked stores and burned houses.

Period of Splits

The Socialist party during the period of the war endured two splits but greatly increased its scope and influence. Previously, in 1913, a small group had split away under Manuel Ugarte, who was imbued with a romantic Latin American nationalism which was not consonant with his professed socialism. The first of the war-time splits occurred in 1915 when Alfredo Palacios was expelled because he broke the party's ban on dueling.

Palacios is a picturesque figure, blessed with handle-bar moustachios and a lion's mane head of hair. He is a brilliant orator, a noted lawyer, and a famed educator. While serving as the Socialist party's lone representative in Congress in the early years of this century, he introduced a number of progressive measures. It is noteworthy that during the years when he was in Congress, popular support of the Socialist party increased tremendously. Expelled from the party in 1916, Palacios devoted much of his attention in the next few years to education. He was a leader in a continental-wide movement for the reform of the universities, which made him famous and popular throughout the countries of Latin America. He still maintains his interest in education, having been elected Chancellor of the University of La Plata during the summer of 1941. Unlike many ex-socialists, Palacios did not become conservative, but maintained his interest in the cause of socialism. Less than fifteen years after having been expelled from the party, he was re-admitted, and was soon elected to the Senate. At the present time he is the Socialist party's only representative in the upper chamber.

The second split arose from the war situation. Most socialist leaders were pro-Ally, and the Executive Committee proposed to the 1917 Socialist Party Congress that it demand arming of Argentine merchant ships. The Congress rejected this idea, however, and adopted a resolution in favor of absolute neutrality. This was not enough for a small group of left-wingers, however, and they broke away in late 1917 to form the Partido Internacional Socialista.

Despite these scissions, the party gained strength. It was publishing ten different weeklies in seven languages and in the 1916 Congressional elections had 60,000 votes and elected fourteen representatives. There were socialists in three provincial legislatures. In 1918 there were 61,962 socialist votes in spite of the two splits. Membership was 7400 in 1916 as compared with 4800 two years earlier.

During the early twenties the Socialist party held its own in membership and greatly increased its vote. It re-affiliated with the revived Second International after the war and voted down affiliation with the Moscow International by a 5-3 vote. The party membership wavered around ten thousand during the middle twenties, and declined in 1927 to as low as 8,523. Party branches varied from 180 to 273 during this period, and were scattered

over the country, though the main strength was in the Federal District and Buenos Aires Province. The socialist vote increased considerably, and by 1925 the party had eighteen deputies and two senators. At the time these deputies were elected, the party vote reached 101,516, and the party controlled about half the vote in the larger cities.

After the Russian revolution, the Communist party was formed. The old International Socialist party, which split away from the Socialist party in 1917, was admitted to the Communist International. In 1921 it reported having 3,500 members, but in the middle twenties it declined considerably and split into several factions. Its only elected officials were three municipal councillors in Cordoba Province. In spite of this decline, the communist paper "La Internacional" was changed in 1925 from a weekly to a daily.

In 1927 a serious split in the Socialist party developed. Many party members and officials were opposed to the stringent discipline which existed in the organization. This group likewise tended to be more nationalistic than the official party policy. There was a long struggle between the two groups which culminated in the summer of 1927 in the expulsion from the party of Deputy Carballo. Ten other socialist deputies protested against this expulsion and set themselves apart as a separate group in the Chamber. They were, therefore, brought up on charges and expelled from the party by majority vote of the party in referendum. The dissident Congressmen and their followers then formed the Independent Socialist party. In the congressional elections of 1929 the new party got 49,000 votes on the average, as against 44,500 for the regulars. Although the total vote of the two groups was larger than the vote of the socialist party had been previously, the total socialist membership in the chamber fell from nineteen to ten—the Socialist party having two and the I. S. P. having eight. In spite of the efforts of the Labor and Socialist International to compromise the differences between the two groups, the split continued, and in the 1930 elections, the Socialist party received 83,076 votes and the Independents got 109,292. However, the Socialist party only seated one deputy, while the I. S. P. elected ten.

Whereas the trend in the Socialist party was towards scission, the trend in the unions was towards unity. In 1929 the Federacion Obrera Poligrafica Argentina called a conference of the trade union

federations and independent organizations to form a united body. The C. O. A., U. S. A. and various independents attended and the result of the conference was a new Confederacion General de Trabajadores. This group affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions and contained the bulk of the union membership in Argentina. It remains today the main Argentine trade union center and is generally under socialist leadership.

Although there was practically no union activity during the 1930 revolution, the two socialist parties were very active and very vitally affected by the movement. The Independents cooperated with other opposition groups before the overthrow of Irrigoyan in demanding his ouster. The Socialist party suspected the motives of Irigoyen's opponents and though they were opposed to the President's repressive acts, they did not take an active part in his overthrow. After it was accomplished the Socialist party expressed outright opposition to the new government, which, they said, had fulfilled their worst expectations. The Independents, on the other hand, after quarreling a little with the government, finally came out flatly in its support, and cooperated with it in the 1931 elections. The I. S. P. supported the Conservative candidate, General Justo, for President. The Socialist party, on the other hand, coalesced with the Progressive Democratic party, putting up a Democrat for President, and a socialist for Vice President, and supporting Socialist party candidates in Buenos Aires for the Chamber of Deputies. The Socialist party-democratic candidate received 126,370 votes in Buenos Aires against 166,358 received for Justo. In addition to this good showing, the Socialist party succeeded in electing forty-four deputies. This was due to the fact that the Radical party took no part in the election and threw its support to the socialists. The Socialist party succeeded in winning control of five of the country's major cities. The party membership at this time was about 21,000 divided into four hundred twenty-three locals.

The independents became more and more dependent upon the Government, some of their members entering the Conservative Cabinet. They finally lost their identity completely.

After the return of the radicals to the political conflict, the socialist vote declined precipitately. In 1936 the Socialist party parliamentary delegation fell from 46 to 7. This decline led to much dissatisfaction in the party. During the Popular Front days there

was much agitation in the younger sections of the party for united front with the communists. This crystallized in the formation of the Socialist Labor party, which follows the "line" almost as well as the official Communist party, but has recently been deteriorating.

Reorganization in Late Thirties

The Socialist party underwent a thorough reorganization in 1938-39. "La Vanguardia" was improved technically and given a wider political scope. An attempt was made to extend the appeal of the paper and the party to the middle class groups. The shake-up was apparently successful, for the socialist vote for deputies rose from 99,291 in 1938 to 135,466 in 1940. The party succeeded in re-electing its five deputies in the 1940 elections. It also has one Senator, Alfredo Palacios.

The socialists have been particularly active in the last few years in fighting Nazi and anti-American influences in Argentina. They are strong supporters of President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy. Socialist Deputy Dickmann was one of the first people in 1938 to denounce Nazi activities and attempts to regiment Germans in Argentina in support of Hitler.

Recently Socialist Deputy Juan Antonio Solari has been secretary of the Commission of the Chamber of Deputies Investigating Anti-Argentine Activities. The Socialists have been active in the organization of Accion Argentina, a group of democratically minded Argentines of all political faiths. They have also been active in fighting anti-democratic tendencies at home, and have opposed Acting President Castillo's pro-Axis foreign policy and anti-democratic internal administration.

III. BRAZIL

Brazil is the most Federalist minded country in the Americas. This feature of Brazilian politics is reflected, in the history of the Brazilian labor and socialist movement, in the extreme difficulty in maintaining national organizations either in the union or political fields.

At the turn of the century there existed many scattered socialist, anarchist and left-wing republican groups in Brazil. One of the

most interesting of these was a group known as the Uniao Sociocratical which published a weekly newspaper "O Libertarista" in Rio. This paper was dated according to how many years, months and days had elapsed since the French Revolution. The paper published an appeal to "freethinkers, all Workers' Societies, socialist groups, partisans of liberty of conscience, of all countries . . . to participate in the work of the Uniao Sociocratica."

With increased immigration in the 1900's and the arrival of many workers from Germany and Italy, the labor and socialist movement spread. By 1916 an Italian socialist daily "Avanti" was being published as well as a German socialist weekly "Vorwaerts." In the same year various groups were brought together and the Socialist Party of Brazil was founded. In 1916 it had branches in Rio, Sao Paulo, Bahia and four other cities. By 1918 it had added seven more branches and had 2570 members. When the United States entered the war in 1917 and the danger of Brazil's entering became acute, the party was threatened with a split. The Portuguese-speaking workers were generally in favor of immediately entering the war, whereas the Italian and German members of the group were in favor of strict neutrality. In 1917 the party was very successful in municipal elections and in the one state election in which it presented candidates.

However, the anarchists were the more powerful group in pre-war Brazil. By 1907 there were two anarchist weeklies "A Terra Livre" in Sao Paulo and "Novo Rumo" in Rio. They were consolidated into one weekly in that year, called "A Terra Livre" and published in Rio. The two papers maintained a library in Sao Paulo. The Brazilian anarchists at that time were in close touch with their confreres in Argentina and Peru. In 1909 Edmondo Rossoni, an Italian writer, was expelled from Brazil because he tried to organize a modern school, patterned after the school built by Ferrer in Spain. In September, 1911 the anarchist journal "Laterna" in Sao Paulo succeeded in raising \$95 for the aid of the Mexican anarchist revolutionaries.

The pre-war Socialist party in Brazil went over to the Communist International, which it joined in 1921. The Communist party devoted most of its energies to union organization. It was reported as having five hundred members in 1922. It was officially outlawed in November, 1923 and by 1924 its membership had slumped to

350. Communist organizational activities went on under great handicaps. Octavio Brandao, a Brazilian communist leader, said that the communist life had "much in common with that of ants." During the twenties they were subject to police raid at almost any time, and were constantly forced to postpone or change the scene of lectures and organizational meetings. However, in the first six or seven months of 1926, for example, they were able to distribute some 254,000 pieces of propaganda.

In late 1927 the Communist party again became completely illegal after a short period of semi-legality. The communist paper "A Nasaun" was suppressed. The third Congress of the party met in secret in 1929, at which time the party had one representative in the city council of Rio de Janeiro.

Meanwhile, a Socialist party had been formed in 1925 and it got its following mainly in the lower middle classes. At one time it elected two members of the Municipal Assembly of Rio de Janeiro. It was active in the union organizations. In 1930 local socialist groups existed in Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, Santos and Parana.

In 1929 the Confederacao Geral de Trabalho was formed by the unions under communist domination. The new group joined both the Red International of Labor Unions and the Confederacion Sindical Latino-Americano, the Profintern affiliate in Latin-America. In the early thirties socialist elements succeeded in winning control of the C. G. T., so the communists withdrew and formed the Confederacao Sindical Unitaria. However, this group failed to achieve the strength which its parent organization had possessed. The Confederacao Geral remained the strongest labor federation in Brazil until the suppression of all union organizations by the Vargas government. In 1932 it had reported 8600 members.

The Vargas Revolution

The year 1930 was marked by a revolution which resulted in putting Getulio Vargas into the President's office. This revolution was supported generally by liberal and labor elements in Brazil, and gave rise to a number of strikes and the founding of many unions. The Vargas government at first intervened frequently to get compromise settlements in these strikes. The size of Brazilian

unions at this time—as always—is uncertain. The Brazilian Labor party claimed that there were 930,170 organized workers in early 1930. The president of the General Union of Transport Workers reduced this number to 240,000, of which forty thousand were maritime and transport workers. The International Federation of Trade Unions listed the total union membership as 270,000, of which 179,000 were in what it labeled "regular" unions, 85,000 in "neutral" unions, 4,000 in illegal communist unions and 2,000 in illegal syndicalist unions. This number probably includes the workers' mutual aid societies which were quite widespread in Brazil and were considerably more successful than the unions in building and maintaining their organizations. It also included the Associacao dos Empregados no Comercio, composed of white collar workers, which claimed 30,000 members in Rio de Janeiro.

Strikes continued to be numerous during 1931 and 1932. In 1931 they included a railway walkout in Espirito Santo State; a strike of 1500 workers at the Ford plant at Para, in which the police attacked workers with machine guns, and a May Day strike in the major cities. At the time of the Revolution of 1930 in Sao Paulo and Minas Geraes, workers in Rio engaged in large strikes and anti-war demonstrations, against the advice and wishes of the "reformist" trade union leaders. The government, as was expected, suppressed the demonstrations with tear gas and machine guns. The total number of walkouts in 1931 was 156, in which 96,576 people participated, averaging 1724 workers per strike. In 1932 there were only 31 strikes, but 124,980 workers participated.

The Vargas government soon began to crack down on strikes. Before long all walkouts were outlawed, all meetings and demonstrations were forbidden, workers newspapers were suppressed, and trade unions were put under the supervision of the police. Over one hundred trade union and Communist party officials were arrested and deported by Vargas. Some walkouts continued, however, especially during the period when the National Liberation Alliance was being organized in 1934-35. The communists claim that over a million and a half people took part in strikes at this time, most of which were aimed at the "security" law which had been passed to give the Vargas dictatorship a firmer hold on the seat of power.

The communists were active during the early thirties. At the

time of 1930 revolution they tried to start little revolutions of their own in Rio and Bahia and were quickly squelched. They were driven more or less underground during the Vargas regime, but in 1934 the Communist party had a member in Congress. Its officials were continually stressing the alleged fact that it was gaining members all during the thirties. According to communist spokesmen, the socialists were the particular victims of communist drives for membership.

Socialist Groupings

The socialist elements in Brazil were divided into several groups. A Brazilian Labor party had been organized in 1929. At the time of its second congress in July, 1930, it claimed 175,192 members in 112 groups. It adopted resolutions in favor of workmen's compensation legislation and other things. At its third convention, the Labor party decided to reorganize on the model of the British Labor party. It was decided that the party would apply for admission to the Labor and Socialist International. It was arranged that the unions would have eight representatives on the Labor Party's parliamentary committee. An independent Socialist party existed in Sao Paulo. Both groups participated in the National Liberation Alliance.

The National Liberation Alliance

The National Liberation Alliance developed in the 1934-35 period. It came to include within its ranks working class groups, socialist parties, peasant organizations, and various liberal politicians who had been alienated by Vargas high-handed attitude, as well as the Communist party. The Alliance served as a coordinating body for the left-wing elements. In this capacity it carried on campaigns against the fascist Integralistas, it cooperated with unions in strikes protesting police brutality and government repression, it supported peasants in Minas Geraes against evictions by their landlords.

On July 5, 1935 the National Liberation Alliance issued a manifesto and program calling for suspension of payment on the foreign debts, Brazilian control of public utilities, appropriation of large

estates and their division among the peasants, separation of Church and state, the eight hour day, minimum wage legislation, and social insurance. A week later the group was declared dissolved by President Vargas. The Alliance continued to function more or less without molestation until November, 1935. In October a strike broke out on the Great Western Railway, and though the workers won a 30 percent wage increase, they continued their walkout and it was extended into other fields until it took the form of a general strike in the northern and northeastern parts of the country. The immediate cause for the revolt of November, 1935 arose when troops in Natal and Recife were ordered to fire on strikers and refused. When officers tried to discipline them, the soldiers and workers rose in revolt. Meanwhile peasants joined in guerilla warfare. Faced with this situation, leaders of the National Liberation Alliance met and conceded that the time for a showdown had arrived. They decided to proclaim a government with Luis Carlos Prestes at its head and to arouse a mutiny in the Rio de Janeiro garrison. The mutiny failed and the rebels surrendered after nine hours fighting. After the collapse of the Rio revolt the rest of the country was soon "pacified."

After the collapse of the National Liberation Alliance, labor organizations and political activity became more difficult than ever. However, until 1937 it remained technically legal. It was not until the Vargas coup d'etat of that year, engineered with the aid of the Integralistas to postpone indefinitely that year's election, that labor organization became illegal. Since Vargas' further coup disposing of Plinio Salgado and his Integralistas and proclaiming a Unitary state and abolishing all political parties, the labor movement has reached a new low. For practical purposes, the independent labor movement has been destroyed in Brazil.

IV. PERU

In pre-1914 Peru there were active—though small—union, socialist and anarchist groups. The anarchists in particular were leaders in trade union activity and maintained close relations with their confreres in neighboring nations. The socialists also took part in a series of strikes. However, there was no Socialist party of any strength built up in this country before the war.

The Aprista Movement

During the twenties there grew up in Peru the Aprista movement. The real name for this organization was the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana. The movement was founded by Victor Haya de la Torre a young student who had been in Europe for some time and came back to his native country fired by a combination of socialism and Indo-Americanism patriotism. The resulting movement, which grew swiftly in the twenties and thirties, preached a combination of a sort of modernized Indian collectivism. Indo-American nationalism, anti-clericalism and "leader worship." The Aprista movement aspired to unite all of the Indian countries of America into an Indo-American federation which would be organized on the basis of Indian Communism.

The Aprista movement came to include most of the articulate Indian populace of Peru as well as being the predominant influence in trade union and even middle class circles. The Aprista movement was organized on the basis of a political party, and, in periods where such opposition was allowed by the government, took part in elections and in parliamentary debate. The swift development of the movement in the twenties was capped in 1931 by the vote of 106,000 given to Haya de la Torre in the Presidential election of that year. Sanchez Cerro, the ruler at the time, and thus the person in control of the elections, won—as would be expected under the circumstances—receiving 155,000 votes. At this same election the Apra won fifty-one seats in the Chamber of Deputies, out of a total of one hundred forty-five.

In the brief period of legality which preceded the assassination of Sanchez Cerro in 1933, the Apra members of the Chamber of Deputies were the opposition. They were led by Manuel Seoane, and were active in attempts to prevent the government from suppressing strikes and in general they acted as a brake upon the Sanchez Cerro government's drive towards the establishment of a dictatorship.

After the assassination of Sanchez Cerro, which was accompanied by revolts and strikes in various parts of the country, the Benavides government outlawed the Apra and persecuted its leaders. Seoane went abroad and agitated the Aprista cause from Argentina and Chile. Victor Haya de la Torre remained in Peru but

went into strict hiding. Visitors who have seen Haya de la Torre tell almost unbelievable stories of the early rising, criss-cross traveling and conspiratorial methods which are necessary in order to visit the leader of the Aprista movement.

The Benavides government was chary about putting its popularity to the test. After the assassination of Sanchez Cerro it was agreed that an election should be held. For this purpose the Apra put up Haya de la Torre once more for President and an Indian textile worker and an exiled army Colonel for Vice Presidents. But the election was postponed four different times, and was not held until 1936. At that time the government ruled that the Apra could not participate in the elections since it was illegal. So Haya de la Torre and his followers threw their support to Luis Antonio Eguiguren, candidate of the Social Democratic party and a municipal councillor in Lima. When the election returns showed that out of the first 125,000 votes Eguiguren had gotten 75,000, the government stopped the counting of the ballots and announced that since he was supported by the Aprista—which was illegal—Eguiguren could not possibly win the election. The Benavides congress then obligingly elected the dictator President for three more years. In 1940 Benavides was succeeded by Manuel Prado, and the Dictator went off to Spain and then to Argentina as Ambassador.

The Communist Movement

There has been a Communist party in Peru since the middle twenties. For most of its life it was violently opposed to Apra, spending its time in "exposing all the fakers who under the guise of anti-imperialist phraseology are hampering the creation of a real continental organization." Of course during the Popular Front phase the Communist party attempted to ally itself with Apra. This turn in the line occurred very suddenly in the spring of 1935 when the Communist party central committee issued an open letter to Haya de la Torre in which it announced that it felt that a Popular Front consisting of the Apra and the Communist party was necessary, and outlining a program upon which that Front could be organized. The Apra leaders were more than a little skeptical about this sudden change of front and assured the communists that the Popular Front program which they were advocating was exactly

the program which the Apra had been preaching from the beginning so that all that was left for the communists to do was to join the Apra and take part in its activities.

Thus the Popular Front in Peru was not a great success, and though the communists seem to have supported the Apra candidate in the 1936 elections, they did not make much headway among the large mass of Apra's followers. Recently, since Haya de la Torre has come out in favor of cooperation by the Latin American nations with the United States in defense of the Western Hemisphere, the communists have once more launched a vicious attack upon the Apra movement and its leaders. They did, that is, until the invasion of Russia.

Recently the Apra has received considerable attention throughout Latin America for a proposal for the establishment of an Inter-American Federation. This plan envisages a customs union, the establishment of two currencies—one for Latin America, one for the U. S.—which would be closely tied together, the setting up of Inter-American political institutions such as courts and a Congress, and the joint guarantee of democracy to all American countries. This document, known as the Haya de la Torre Plan, has received a good deal of notice from Latin American publications, especially those of socialist complexion. This is the first concrete proposal for an Inter-American Federation made by any responsible group of individuals in the Americas.

V. COLOMBIA

Although Colombia is one of the few countries that in the last forty years has been consistently democratic, the labor and socialist movement has been comparatively backward.

There was some talk of "socialistic influence" in Colombian politics as early as the 1890's but it is not until the 1920's that there is any actual Socialist party. In the early 1920's such an organization was formed, with a very mild platform and with a group of intellectuals in the lead.

During the middle twenties there was also launched the Directorio Nacional Socialista y Obrero which was a loosely organized delegate body. It had labor unions, mutual benefit societies and

socialist political groups affiliated with it though the mutual benefit societies were for a long time in the ascendant. This was certainly not a strictly Socialist party, since it contained vague liberals as well as revolutionaries who were sympathetic to the Moscow International. However, it included with its ranks what can be termed the "socialist movement" of Colombia, and it was important in giving leadership to unionization and strike activities.

Socialists had some success in the electoral field, polling a fair vote in the 1929 elections in Bogota, the capital. In June, 1930 there was organized a new semi-socialist organization, the Partido Laborista Colombiano. This group was headed by union leaders and called upon the workers to rally round a program of immediate demands. It received a comparatively small number of votes in the 1931 elections.

The syndicalists were also active in Colombia in the twenties. They ran a newspaper "Claridad."

The Social Revolutionary Party

In the late 1920's the communists began to assume some importance. At this time the Social Revolutionary Party was launched. This group became affiliated as a sympathizing member of the Communist International, and took part in electoral affairs. In the 1930 election it put up Alberto Castrillon, a leader of the famous 1929 banana strike, for President. He ran a poor third. An official Communist party was formed in July, 1930 when what the Comintern describes as the "best elements" in the Social Revolutionary party withdrew to form the Communist party. Its activities in the first few years consisted in union organization, agitation against war, and organization work among the Indians. As a result of their anti-war work, five hundred communists were arrested and the Communist party paper "Tierra" was suppressed. This was in spite of the fact that the party was not united in opposing the war with Peru. The General Secretary, Hernandez Rodriguez, came out in favor of the war and then left the country. The Communist party of Colombia seems to have been particularly subject to splits. In 1930 the late presidential candidate, Alberto Castrillon was thrown out of the party and all during the thirties the Comintern criticized the factionalism which was wrecking the party.

Popular Front Movement of Lopez

Under the Lopez regime a practical "Popular Front" existed, with close cooperation existing among the Lopez Liberals, the communists, socialist and labor union leaders. It was in this period that the unions were unified, and it was on May Day, 1936 that communist leader Gilberto Vierra and President Lopez jointly reviewed the May Day parade in the capital. However, as in the case of the Cardenas regime in Mexico, the communists of Colombia at first condemned the Lopez regime as a government in which the "young industrial bourgeoisie and the old land-owning aristocracy exercise their role jointly in spite of certain differences in their economic interest." Communists later, however, supported Lopez. This development is interesting when viewed in conjunction with similar changes in attitude in Mexico and the United States, after the change in the Comintern's line. The Communist party claimed 1300 members in 1935. It has followed faithfully the changes in the Comintern line resulting from the European war.

During the late '30's the Communist party gained control of the Confederation of Colombian Workers, although this unified labor group was originally established with control shared by communist, socialist and anarcho-syndicalist elements. By 1940 this communist domination was complete enough to force a group of non-communist leaders to lead a significant section of the Confederation in a schism which resulted in the establishment of two union federations.

VI. URUGUAY

Uruguay has been called the Switzerland of the Western Hemisphere, and the very progressive nature of the administrations in Uruguay in the last thirty years has been a factor in preventing the growth of a very powerful movement in that nation.

The Communist party came into being in 1920 when the Seventh Congress of the Socialist party decided to change its name to communist and affiliate with the Moscow International. The Socialist party had been organized in 1910. In 1911 it succeeded in electing Emilio Frugoni, Professor in the University of Montevideo, to the Chamber of Deputies, with the help of the radicals.

Frugoni was a University professor and a literateur. His poetry has been popular—especially among leftist groups—throughout

the continent. He has also written prose, including a recent study of the British Labor party. Frugoni is highly regarded by socialists throughout Latin America, and ranks as one of the three or four outstanding socialist leaders of the continent.

In 1914 the radicals withdrew their aid and the party was under attack from the anarchists in the Labor Federation, so the seat in the Chamber of Deputies was lost. In 1913 the Socialist party consisted of seven locals in Montevideo and three outside with a total membership of about 1,000. By 1916 this number of dues paying members dropped to five hundred. The party maintained two weekly newspapers. By 1920 the party had a daily newspaper "La Justicia."

The Communist party was credited with 2,000 members in 1923, and between 600 and 1,000 in 1924. In the next year the Communist party got 4,000 votes but in 1926 it received only 2,593. However, by 1927 the party had two deputies, one of whom—Celestino Mibelli—it expelled in June of that year. In the 1928 election the Communist party received 3,911 votes; and reelected deputy Eugenio Gomez, editor of the party paper. In the 1930 presidential election the Communist party was credited with 1,774 votes. Even by 1938 the Communist party was only able to elect one deputy.

In the meantime a Socialist party had been rebuilt. Its leader was the same Emilio Frugoni who had been first elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1911. In 1925 the Socialist party got only 1,794 votes throughout Uruguay and in 1926 elections it did not run any candidates. Two years later, however, the party made considerable gains, getting 2,931 votes and electing Emilio Frugoni to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1930 the party was being re-organized and so it did not present any candidate in the elections. However, in the next year the party gained many adherents, changed its weekly "El Sol" into a daily newspaper and applied for membership in the Labor and Socialist International. The Socialist party of Uruguay affiliated with the L. S. I. at the Vienna Congress in 1931.

The Terra Dictatorship

The depression hit Uruguay. The Uruguayan peso declined from \$1.03 in United States currency in 1929 to only \$.44 in 1933.

As a result of this situation the Chamber of Deputies went so far as to pass a bill establishing a three month moratorium on commercial debts payable in foreign money. The result of the economic situation and a tangled political crisis was a coup d'état by President Terra in the spring of 1933. This coup which abolished the commission form of government of the Constitution of 1917, was opposed by the socialists and communists. The labor federations and students called a general strike as soon as Terra's coup occurred. The Socialist party's executive committee had been planning in February, 1933 to bring up a proposal for Terra to resign, on the grounds that his agitation against the Commission form of government was "disturbing public order and causing uneasiness. . . ." They therefore opposed the coup, and Frugoni fled to Argentina. He accused Terra of being backed by United States oil interests which resented the Uruguayan oil monopoly's selling of Russian oil at lower price than American oil. As proof of his allegation, Frugoni pointed out that Terra was a former attorney for the oil companies. The socialists who had three deputies in the pre-coup Chamber were unable to elect any member of the Constituent Assembly called by Terra. However, in the first election under the new Constitution, the socialists elected two members. The communists, who had also had three deputies in the pre-coup Parliament, elected twelve members of the Constituent Assembly. But they were only able to elect one deputy to the new parliament. The communist deputies in the Constituent Assembly refused to vote for Terra for reelection as President.

The Terra dictatorship became less harsh with the passage of time. Political exiles returned, including Frugoni. An election held in 1938 was marked by frauds and governmental pressure, but even so General Baldomir, who was not the dictator's first choice, was elected President. The socialists put up Frugoni in the election and he received 26,057 votes, as opposed to the 121,000 votes received by the winner. In the same election the Socialist party won three seats in Parliament, and the communists got one.

Support of Baldomir's Policies

The outstanding feature of socialist activity under the Baldomir administration has been the Socialist party's support of President

Baldomir's policy of hemisphere defense, and cooperation with the United States. The Uruguayan Socialists, like their compatriots throughout Latin America, are firm supporters of the Roosevelt Good Neighbor Policy. The socialists have been particularly active in exposing the machinations of the nazis in Uruguay, and a young socialist, Hugo Fernandez Artucio, was especially diligent in gathering material about the nazis. After collecting much information, Fernandez Artucio prepared a complaint which he submitted to the criminal courts, asking that measures be taken against the nazis. The latter sued him for slander for some of the things said in his book "Nazis in el Uruguay," but he was acquitted. The socialists have supported Baldomir's policies of rearmament and cooperation with the United States in building a continental arms scheme. So ardent has been their support of the President, that a Herrerista (semi-Fascist, anti-United States) party deputy attempted to assassinate Frugoni in the Chamber of Deputies.

VII. ECUADOR

Although there is little industry upon which a labor movement could be based in Ecuador, there has been a socialist movement there for many years. The first Socialist party was organized in 1926 and almost immediately succeeded in electing members of the city council of Guayaquil. Previous to the establishment of the Socialist party there had been several independent workers' representatives in Parliament and in various city councils.

The Socialist party of the 1920's was organized much like the British Labor party, with several political groups, and with the unions as an integral part of the organization. However, the communists soon got the upper hand and in 1928 the party adhered to the Communist International. At this time it claimed 10,000 members, and its secretary was Ricardo Parades. This group has remained in the Communist International, with Parades as its secretary, ever since. It has had several splits and is of little importance.

During the early 1930's a new Socialist party was organized. This group was headed by Senator Luis Maldonado, and has taken a rather important part in the affairs of the nation. During the very short period of free speech and democracy during 1938-39 the Socialist party as well as the communists, and the third socialistic

group, the Socialist Vanguard, took an active part in the elections campaigns.

The Socialist party has been greatly influenced by the Aprista movement of Peru, and carries on a good deal of activity among the Indian masses, who make up most of the Ecuadorian population.

At the present time the Socialist party is having considerable difficulty carrying on normal activity because of the repressive nature of the current Ecuadorian regime. However, the party, like all of the Latin American socialist groups, is a firm supporter of the policy of hemispheric cooperation.

VIII. INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF LATIN AMERICAN SOCIALISM AND LABOR

One of the reasons for the lack of interest concerning the Latin American labor and socialist movement upon the part of Europeans and North Americans has been the fact that a comparatively small number of groups in Latin America have had active contact with international organizations.

Before the World War there were several groups which affiliated with the Second International. Prominent among these was the Argentina Socialist party and the Chilean Socialist Labor party.

After the World War the Communist International took more interest in the affairs of Latin America. Most of the Latin American countries have at one time or another had a Communist International affiliate. Delegates from the Communist parties of Latin America have fairly regularly attended meetings of the Comintern and its executive bodies. In addition, the communists established a Latin American affiliate of the Red International of Labor Unions, and most of the Latin American countries at one time or another have had red unions at least on paper. The International Workingmen's Association, the anarcho-syndicalist international also claimed affiliates in many American countries. The Socialist International during this inter-war period had only two affiliates, the Argentine and Uruguayan Socialist parties, though other groups, such as the Brazilian Labor party from time to time agreed to apply for admission to the L. S. I.

The more important aspect of the international relations of the

socialists and laborites of Latin America is the series of Pan American and Latin American confederations that has developed over a period of thirty-five years.

As early as 1909 the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina played host to a conference of anarcho-syndicalist union organizations, including groups from Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Peru, in addition to the Argentine group.

An international group, the Centro Latino Americano was launched in Chile and Peru in the 'teens. This group which was concentrated largely in these two nations, aspired to found an international federation of Latin American labor unions.

But it was not until after the World War that real organization on an international scale began. A step in this direction was the 1919 Socialist Congress held in Buenos Aires. Groups from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Peru attended the conference. Delegates from the United States were refused passports, and thus could not attend. The conference sent greetings to the revolutionary workers of Russia, Hungary, and Germany. They also sent greetings to Juan B. Justo of the Argentine Socialist party who was then in Europe attending the conference for the resurrection of the Second International. The meeting denounced the United States government for denying passports to the conference delegates. Among the resolutions of the conference were ones in favor of the 44 hour week, urging trade among Latin American nations, abolition of child labor, and compulsory education.

The year before this the first Pan American Labor Congress was held. The American Federation of Labor and the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana were the prime movers in this meeting. Delegates attended from Mexico, United States, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Salvador. Colombia, Cuba, Peru, and Venezuela were also supposed to be represented, but financial and other difficulties prevented it. Resolutions were passed, and the Pan American Federation of Labor was established. It held its second convention in 1919 in New York City. At this meeting the Mexican delegates and others showed disgust at the conservatism of the United States delegates, and especially with the failure of the A. F. L. men to advocate freeing of I. W. W. and other political prisoners in the United States.

The last effective meeting of the Pan American Federation of Labor was held in Washington, D. C. in July, 1927 with delegates from the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Columbia, Porto Rico, Peru, Cuba and Santo Domingo present. Argentina, Brazilian and Chilean union groups refused to send delegates. This conference, like its predecessors, was conservative in tone. For example, it refused to adopt the resolution introduced by de la Selva, the Nicaraguan delegate, condemning the United States invasion of Nicaragua, but contented itself with resolving that "the congress respectfully calls the attention of the American government to the necessity of withdrawing American troops from Nicaragua." However, the conference did call for regulation of investors' activities in Latin America.

Most bona fide labor groups in Latin America looked with suspicion upon the Pan American Federation of Labor. They regarded it as an attempt upon the part of the United States to take their labor organizations into camp, so that United States imperialism could more easily and more effectively exploit the Latin Americans. Many of the groups affiliated with the P. A. F. L. were purely paper organizations, while others were tools of dictators such as Machado in Cuba and Gomez in Venezuela.

The Union Obrera of Paraguay called a conference of all Latin American labor organizations in 1929 to protest the threatening war between Paraguay and Bolivia. The Union Sindical Argentina was among the groups attending this conference, but withdrew before the sessions ended because it objected to the predominating part taken in the activities by the Communist Comité Pro Confederación Sindical Latino American. This group held a conference in May, 1929 which launched the Latin American Trade Union Confederation. Meeting in Montevideo, Uruguay, the congress had delegates from United States, Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, and Uruguay. Many of these groups were paper organizations, though genuine union federations in Uruguay, Chile, and Cuba were present. The conference is said to have "declared war upon British and especially American imperialism." This Confederation lasted throughout a Comintern's "Third Period" but never reached great proportions.

The communists launched other international organizations.

For example, in 1924 an All America Anti-Imperialist League was founded which soon had sections in United States, Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Peru and Colombia.

In recent years there have been three important inter-American Labor and Socialist Congresses. The first of these was the founding congress of the Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina, which met in Mexico City in September, 1938. Delegates were present from most important Latin American union groups, with the Mexican C. T. M., and the Argentine C. G. T. taking the lead. It was decided to establish two bureaus, one in Mexico City and one in Buenos Aires, to coordinate American Labor activities. The importance of this conference in the eyes of the International Labor movement is seen from the fact that it was attended by John L. Lewis, Leon Jouhaux of the French C. G. T., as well as by a representative of the International Labor Office.

The Confederation was inactive for a while and at one time scarcely had enough money to carry on its necessary correspondence. However, since Vincente Lombardo Toledano was relieved of his duties as Secretary of the Mexican C. T. M., he has given full time to the activities of the Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina. A recent congress of the group was held in Mexico City.

The second important conference was held in Montevideo in the spring of 1939. The International Congress for Democracy was warned by the Uruguayan government that no foreign countries could be named by the delegates, and when the governments of United States, Chile and Mexico were praised and the Franco regime in Spain was condemned, the Congress was warned that if that occurred again, the meeting would be closed. This was a meeting of liberals, unions and socialist organizations from all of the Americas. The United States delegation included Kathryn Lewis. There were supposedly no communists present. The conference resolved to fight fascist penetration into the western hemisphere and at the same time to wage a campaign to take the governments of Latin America out of the hands of the land-owning aristocracy and fascist elements.

The most recent conference was the Congress of Democratic parties of Latin America, which met in Santiago, Chile in October, 1940. This was attended by the socialist parties of Chile, Ecua-

dor, Uruguay, Panama and Argentina. Delegates were also present from the Independent Socialist party of Bolivia, the Partido Democrático Nacional of Venezuela, the Party of the Mexican Revolution and the Peruvian Aprista Movement. Greetings were delivered from Battista's Partido Popular Cubano and the Partido Colorado Batllista of Uruguay. The conference dealt with problems engendered by the war, and common problems of these various parties in their struggles to achieve and maintain a democratic and ultimately a socialist form of society.

At the present time there is no strong international American organization either in the labor or socialist field. Although there are powerful organizations of labor and socialist in many of the Latin countries, they have as yet been unable to establish cohesive and long-lasting international groups.

* * *

In conclusion it may be well to once more point out the outstanding characteristics of labor and socialist organization in Latin America. It occurs in predominantly agricultural countries, and is thus concentrated in a restricted number of industries and in most cases the unions do not look very large on the respective national horizons. The labor movements of the Latin countries have been especially prone to violence and the use of the general strike. They have been peculiarly politically minded, being led largely by socialists, communists and anarchists, and have participated in the politics of their respective nations with vim and vigor. Finally, the labor and socialist movements have been subject to a kind of dictatorship and persecution which until recent years at least, the labor movements of Europe and North American were unfamiliar.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

There has been little written upon the labor and socialist movements of South America, either in English or in Spanish. There has never been, so far as I know, any general history of Labor and socialism below the Rio Grande. There have been specialized studies of particular countries, among which Jacinto Oddone's "Historia de Socialismo Argentino" is outstanding. Note also that unpublished histories in English of labor and socialism in Argentina and Chile by the present author are available in the Pan American Union's circulating library in Washington, D. C. The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences has an article on the Trade Unions of Latin America.

Some books concerning the specific countries occasionally have reference to the labor movements of those countries. Among works of this type might be mentioned George McCutcheon McBride's "Chile: Land and Society."

However, the best source of information is to be found in periodicals and newspapers. Although the general current events periodicals and daily newspapers are helpful, specialized publications are much more valuable. Newspapers such as the socialist "Call," and the "Daily Worker" often have articles concerning groups which are sympathetic to their point of view. Also radical periodicals, such as "The Communist," "The New International," are helpful. Pre-World War publications such as "Mother Earth" and the "International Socialist Review" are especially useful. Foreign radical publications such as the Belgian "L'Avenir Social," the French "La Revue Socialiste," and the British "Monthly Circular" issued by the Fabian Research Department are in this class. Foreign newspapers when they can be obtained are also valuable.

Special news sheets about Latin America carry valuable information on the labor and socialist movements. One of these is issued by the Foreign Policy Association, "Pan American News," and is edited by a real expert, John B. McCulloch. Another of this sort is issued by the Council for Pan American Democracy. This group is pro-communist, and the news in its bulletin is made to fit the current party-line. However, it has some interesting and important material.

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